

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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33-M

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Action

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Control: 1415 Assigned to  
Rec'd: JUNE 20, 1960  
Act 3:34 AM

FE

Info

FROM: DJAKARTA

SS

TO: Secretary of State

G

SP

NO: 3616, JUNE 18, 5 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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SENT DEPARTMENT 3616; REPEATED INFORMATION CONCERNING POLAD 665.

FOREIGN MINISTER SUBANDRIO CALLED CHARGE TO HIS OFFICE JUNE 18 FOR 1 HOUR TALK ON WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS, MOST POINTED OF WHICH WAS COMMENT THAT PRESIDENT SUKARNO CONTINUED TO HAVE FEELING "RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY" US WAS SEEKING CHANGE OF REGIME IN INDONESIA, WANTED TO REMOVE SUKARNO.

SUBANDRIO SAID HE ATTEMPTED TO REASON WITH SUKARNO THAT US ONLY CONCERNED WITH POSSIBILITY PRESIDENT MIGHT TAKE INDONESIA TO COMMUNIST SIDE, HAD NATURAL CONCERN IN THIS REGARD SO LONG AS COUNTRY REMAINED OUTSIDE WESTERN ALLIANCE. YET PRESIDENT CLUNG TO BELIEF US WAS WORKING AGAINST HIM, SUBANDRIO SAID, CITED NEWSWEEK ARTICLE OF JUNE 6 (BANNED IN INDONESIA) TO SUPPORT HIS VIEW. (ARTICLE IN "PERISCOPING THE WORLD" ENTITLED "EMBASSY ROW") PRESIDENT CONSIDER THIS ARTICLE INSPIRED BY STATE DEPARTMENT, ALTHOUGH SUBANDRIO SAID HE HAD ATTEMPTED CONVINCE PRESIDENT THIS COULD NOT BE POSSIBLE EVEN IF DEPARTMENT HELD SUCH VIEWS. SUKARNO THOUGHT NEWSWEEK ARTICLE INTENDED ENCOURAGE, EVEN PROVOKE COUP.

SUKARNO'S BELIEF US OUT TO GET HIM REINFORCED BY HIS TALKS WITH NASSER WHO TOLD SUKARNO AMERICANS WERE "AFTER MY HEAD" ALTHOUGH HE AT LOSS TO KNOW WHY. NASSER, SUKARNO CONSIDERS, IS ANTI-COMMUNIST, ONLY SEEKING TO ESTABLISH UAR IDENTITY FREE OF OUTSIDE DOMINATION IN SAME WAY AS INDONESIA.

SUBANDRIO PICTURED SUKARNO AS BEING SOMEWHAT UNHAPPY WITH PRESS

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By GPO NARA Date 8/4/00

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-2- 3616, JUNE 18, 5 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF TWO), FROM DJAKARTA

COVERAGE IN US BECAUSE OF COMMENTS ABOUT HIS VARIOUS ROMANCES, NIGHT-CLUBBING AND SUCH. "THEY ARE AGAINST ME BY NATURE" SUKARNO INSISTED WHEN SUBANDRIO ATTEMPTED POINT OUT TO HIM THAT HIS INSISTANCE ON AVOIDANCE OF HYPOCRISY IN SUCH MATTERS RESULTED ACTUALLY IN HIS BEING INDISCREET. SUKARNO, SUBANDRIO SAID, REITERATED HE WAS ANXIOUS TO BE FRIENDS WITH AMERICA, WAS UNHAPPY THAT THIS FEELING DID NOT SEEM ADEQUATELY RECIPROCATED.

ALTHOUGH THESE COMMENTS BY SUBANDRIO CAREFULLY SANDWICHED BETWEEN LONG DISCOURSE ON INDONESIAN IDEOLOGY, OUT-LOOK ON WORLD AFFAIRS, GENERAL NATURE OF SUKARNO, REASONS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL FRONT, ET CETERA, MOST OF WHICH SUBANDRIO HAS SAID BEFORE AND MUCH OF WHICH HE SAID WHILE IN WASHINGTON, CHARGE IMPRESSION WAS MAIN PUPOSE OF MEETING WAS TO CONVEY SUKARNO'S FEELING ABOUT US ATTITUDE.

SUBANDRIO TOOK PAINS TO SAY THAT PURPOSE OF TALK WAS ONLY TO GIVE BACKGROUND AND WAS NOT ANY SORT OF OFFICIAL STATEMENT, NOT EVEN HIS REMARKS ABOUT JUNE 6 NEWSWEEK. HE ONLY WANTED CHARGE TO KNOW ABOUT THESE THINGS, HE SAID. HOWEVER, WHEN CHARGE WAS TAKING LEAVE, SUBANDRIO MENTIONED AGAIN PRESIDENT'S FEELING IN SUCH A WAY AS TO SUGGEST HE WISHED TO BE SURE POINT HAD BEEN NOTED WELL. CHARGE ASSURED FOREIGN MINISTER HE HAD CAREFULLY HEHEDED ALL SUBANDRIO HAD SAID ON THIS SUBJECT, SAID DEPARTMENT UNDOUBTEDLY WOULD TAKE VERY MUCH TO HEART.

EARLIER CHARGE ASKED WHAT WE COULD DO TO ALLAY SUSPICIONS OF PRESIDENT WHICH OF COURSE UNFOUNDED. THESE GREW OUT OF FACT THAT SOME AMERICANS FEARED SUKARNO FAVORED COMMUNISTS, WAS USING UNDEMOCATIC METHODS THESE VIEWS SOMETIMES GOT INTO PRINT. DEPARTMENT, US GOVERNMENT, UNDERSTOOD SITUATION CLEARLY, WERE ATTEMPTING WORK WITH INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT TO ACHIEVE KIND OF STABILITY WHICH WOULD ENABLE IT REMAIND INDEPENDENT OF COMMUNISM. US HAD NOT CAPABILITY TO KEEP NEWSWEEK FROM SAYING WHATEVER IT WANTED TO, ALTHOUGH HE COULD AND SOMETIMES DID POINT OUT HARM DONE TO US-INDONESIAN RELATIONS BY THIS SORT OF THING. SUBANDRIO ANSWERED CHARGE'S QUESTIONS AS SAYING THAT IF A MAGAZINE ARTICLE APPEARED

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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FROM: DJAKARTA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 3616, JUNE 18, 5 P.M. (SECTION TWO)

SENT DEPARTMENT 3616; REPEATED INFORMATION POLAD 665.

PORTRAYING THE "POSITIVE SIDE" OF SUKARNO'S EFFORT TO FIND "GREAT NEW CONCEPTION", FOREIGN MINISTER COULD EXPLOIT THIS IMMEDIATELY AND EFFECTIVELY WITH PRESIDENT.

SUBANDRIO WENT INTO AN ANALYSIS OF US-INDONESIAN RELATIONS, POINTING OUT THAT THERE WERE NO MAJOR PROBELMS BETWEEN US, THAT GOI CONSIDERED CHINA OR PERHAPS SOME DAY JAPAN AS POSSIBLE THREATS BUT NOT THE UNITED STATES WHICH IT KNEW HAD NO DESIGNS, NOT EVEN ECONOMIC, ON INDEPENDENCE OF INDONESIA. HE ALSO OUTLINED SUKARNO'S PHILOSOPHY, POINTING OUT THAT EVEN THOUGH THE PRESIDENT CALLED HIMSELF MARXIST, HE IN FACT WAS NOT. FOR INSTANCE, HE SAID, PRESIDENT'S NEW PROGRAM CALLED FIRST OF ALL FOR FOOD AND CLOTHING FOR THE PEOPLE, WHICH WAS CONTRARY TO MARXIST DOGMA. THE PRESIDENT REJECTED SUCH CHICOM INNOVATIONS AS REQUIRING ALL TO BE DRESSED ALIKE IN DRAB UNIFORMS. SUKARNO INSISTED WOMEN SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO IMPORT LIPSTICK IF THEY WANTED TO, SINCE THE COST WAS VERY SMALL. NONE OF THESE THINGS FIT COMMUNIST THEORY. SUKARNO WANTED TO RETAIN INCENTIVES AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, BUT INDONESIA HAD INSUFFICIENT CAPITAL, NO ENTERPRENEUR CLASS, HAD TO RELY PRIMARILY ON COLLECTIVE ACTION.

SUBANDRIO THEN ATTEMPTED RATIONALIZE WHY SUKARNO DEALT WITH SOVIET BLOC IN APPARENT HARMONY. SOVIETS HAD THREE GREAT ADVANTAGES OVER US, SUBANDRIO SAID. THEY SUPPORTED INDONESIA ON ALL POLITICAL ISSUES WITHOUT EXCEPTION. EVEN THOUGH MANY PEOPLE KNEW THAT THIS WAS FOR SOVIET SELFISH PURPOSES, THIS

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-2- 3616, JUNE 18, 5 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF TWO), FROM JAKARTA

POLICY HAD AN IMPORTANT IMPACT. SECONDLY, TODAY'S DECISION ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WAS IMPLEMENTED TOMORROW. THIRDLY ON TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE SOVIETS TREATED INDONESIA EVEN MORE GENEROUSLY THAN, SAY, BULGARIA.

YET DESPITE ALL THIS US WAS ABLE TO MAINTAIN BALANCE BECAUSE WE COULD MAKE FRIENDS WITH INDONESIANS. INDONESIANS LIKE US PERSONALLY, COULD TALK TO US MAN-TO-MAN BUT THEY DID NOT LIKE RUSSIANS, FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO TALK TO THEM OR TO UNDERSTAND THEM. THUS, INDONESIANS BY AND LARGE REMAINED WESTERN-ORIENTED. THIS CAPABILITY FOR FRANK, EASY TALK WAS OUR GREATEST ASSET AND WE SHOULD EXPLOIT IT FULLY, SUBANDRIO SAID. "I CANNOT TALK TO A RUSSIAN AS I AM TALKING TO YOU NOW," HE DECLARED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY.

AS FAR AS CHINESE WERE CONCERNED, DIFFICULTIES OF TALKING WITH EACH OTHER EVEN GREATER ALTHOUGH IT WOULD NORMALLY BE SUPPOSED THAT TWO ASIAN COUNTRIES COULD COMMUNICATE QUITE EASILY. "FRANKLY," SUBANDRIO SAID, "I SIMPLY CANNOT UNDERSTAND THE CHINESE. I CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHAT THEY WANT OR WHY THEY DO WHAT THEY DO-FOR INSTANCE WHY THEY WOULD ATTEMPT TO TREAT DJUANDA AND LEIMENA WITH CONTEMPT".

DURING FOREIGN MINISTER'S ABSENCE, WITH SUKARNO ON WORLD TOUR, SUBANDRIO SAID, LEIMENA SUMMONED CHICOM AMBASSADOR HUANG CHEN FOR CONFERENCE BUT LATTER REFUSED TO COME, SAYING THAT HE DID NOT FEEL WELL. NEVERTHELESS HUANG WAS OBSERVED AT NUMBER OF RECEPTIONS SAME EVENING. SUBANDRIO SAID HE HAS NOW GIVEN ORDERS THAT NO ONE IN FOREIGN DEPARTMENT IS TO HAVE ANY CONTACT WITH CHICOM DIPLOMATS AT ANY LEVEL. CHICOMS HAVE THRICE SOUGHT APPOINTMENTS SINCE BAN IMPOSED, HAVE BEEN REFUSED.

"WE ARE HAVING NO CONTACT AT ALL," SUBANDRIO SAID. "I AM GOING TO TEACH THEM A LESSON".

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Action

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Control:

15119pm

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Action Rec'd June 21, 1960

Info

FROM: Djakarta

Action Taken

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TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 3629, June 20, 3 p.m.

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SENT DEPARTMENT 3629, CINCPAC 667.

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EMBTel 3616.

In retrospect one or two other comments by Subandrio may be useful to Department in evaluating intent of conversation.

In citing various bases for Sukarno's suspicion US seeking his removal Subandrio mentioned amplitude of gossip in Djakarta cocktail circuit concerning possible coup attempts. In such context, he said, comments made by Americans such as at Bill Palmer's mountain residence where leading Indo, Americans frequently have contact, some times were taken out of context and distorted in being relayed back to President's ears. He cited no specifics this connection, seemed to treat this as minor but material part total picture.

In that connection Charge has taken steps to verbally caution all key official personnel, Djakarta, avoid being drawn into conversations which might be construed derogatory to President.

Another remark by Subandrio connection with the President's feeling was that Ambassador Jones had done good job of helping dispel this. Charge remarked he thought so too, gave as his impression, Sukarno seemed to like Ambassador Jones. "He does, very much," Subandrio replied. Charge assured him Ambassador Jones reciprocated this feeling.

Fortuitous arrival boy scout tents mentioned DEPTel 2201 together with personal message from Ambassador Jones will give opportunity make concrete showing of personal regard for President.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OFFICE OF EASTERN AFFAIRS

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-2-3629, June 20, 3 p.m. from Djakarta.

for President, may help allay his suspicions obviously fanned recent weeks by NEWSWEEK and Nasser.

Embassy believes further step might be desirable, however. Recommend on next appropriate occasion Charge be authorized say to Subandrio Department gravely concerned over report of June 18 conversation. Desires assure Subandrio we most anxious allay any fear of President we seeking interfere internal affairs Indonesia or we bear him any ill will.

Charge believes his initial reaction to Subandrio's remarks may have helped in this direction but since Subandrio did most of talking, was impossible to erect elaborate denial or defense without seeming to appear unduly defensive. Charge rather attempted get across feeling present fears were, of course, not justified but problem was to find means of convincing President.

Subandrio spent much time attempting demonstrate Sukarno not a Communist, assumption being, of course, that any US antagonism stemmed from presumption he was.

Charge assured Subandrio US understood Sukarno program did not constitute Communist. In any event, Charge said US was not fighting collectivism or socialism per se. It was not even fighting methods which we might consider undemocratic by our own standards. What we were fighting was kind of thing which had occurred in Japan where Communists had been able to interfere in internal affairs of country, had been able to prevent a friendly visit by US President because of orders from outside.

Japanese situation was used as example because Subandrio had opened conversation in first place by reference to Japan. He asked Charge's views on impact of events. Charge commented briefly, explaining that he had not been informed as to US Government views regard statements carried in press but personally felt situation might well have effect on US domestic politics. Charge then asked for Subandrio's ideas on subject. After expressing regret that matters had turned out as they had, Foreign Minister immediately switched subject.

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By CD NARA Date 8/4/00

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Origin SENT TO: Amembassy, DJAKARTA 2274  
Info: RPTD INFO: CINGPAC FOR POLAD

611.98/6-2060  
YR 798.11  
Your 3616 and 3629.

Dept appreciates Charge's full reporting Subandrio conversation and concurs Charge's statements and actions taken to allay Sukarno's suspicions.

Embassy will recognize that Sukarno's sensitivity and suspicion of U.S. are long-standing problems for which there are no simple remedies.

~~Dept is coordinating efforts with C- and S- to secure coverage of Sukarno and Indonesian events by U.S. press. Although this is a complex task,~~

It is of course next to impossible forestall publication such articles as recent Newsweek speculation on coup since, more often than not, Dept. first learns of article after appearance on newsstands. You may in future conversations find it desirable draw comparison between such U.S. reporting of Indonesian events and coverage of U.S. in certain Indonesian publications.

While we are not rpt not pleased to read recent provocative Harian Rakjat and Bintang Timur commentary on U.S. officials and policies, for example, we appreciate that these views are not encouraged by GOI nor represent GOI

views; therefore we do not become greatly concerned about them.

If Embassy should deem it useful in context ~~discussions~~ discussions this

subject

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Typed by: FE:SPA:RMWenz  
6-23-60

Telegraphic transcription and classification approved by:

FE - John M. Staevan

FE:SPA - Mr. Bell

FE - Ambassador Jones

FE/P - Mr. Campbell

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S/S CR  
JUN 30 1960 A.M.

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Page 2 of telegram to Ambassy, DJAKARTA

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subject, ~~Herter~~ might also note that continuing US programs of assistance to Indonesia, particularly recently concluded Ex-Im Bank loans and Agreement for Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy, clearly point up continued US support of President Sukarno and his Government and demonstrate there is no rpt no basis for Sukarno's feeling US seeking to change Indonesian Government or remove President.

You may tell Subandrio Dept has discussed matter Soekarno's suspicions with Ambassador Jones who concerned and wishes have full and frank discussion this and other subjects with Soekarno on return to Indonesia late July. Your 3655 Dept does not believe proposed approach New York Times at this time would serve purposes we are trying to achieve.

*Herter*  
*JMB*

HERTER

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FROM: Djakarta

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 3655, June 23, noon.

SENT DEPARTMENT 3655, CINCPAC

CINCPAC FOR POLAD.

EMBTELS 3616, 3629.

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Control:

17446

Rec'd:

June 23, 1960

8:44 a.m.

Action Assigned to

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Date of Action

6/29/60  
669

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1960 JUN 23 PM 3 26  
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Comments by Admiral Martadinata to ALUSNA, reported as 220714Z, appear to have been inspired by Foreign Minister Subandrio who talked with Admiral immediately after seeing Charge.

There were various points similarity in two approaches, so seems evident Subandrio anxious to get through loud and clear to US that President Sukarno is suspicious of US, believing we are opposed to his concept of Indo future development and therefore after his scalp.

Suggest as one means of allaying suspicion Department consider off the record discussion with NEW YORK TIMES correspondent as to US view of Sukarno. TIMES suggested as medium since Sukarno more likely to see article published there than elsewhere. Other logical outlets such as NEWSWEEK so far committed to proposition that Department is in fact conspiring to bring down Sukarno, doubt if much assistance likely forthcoming there.

Purpose of such interview would be to stress these points:

- (A) US recognizes Sukarno primary political force holding Indo together as viable nation;
- (B) US does not believe any suitable substitute available with capacity to effectively supplant Sukarno;
- (C) Those

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-2-3655, June 23, noon from Djakarta.

(C) Those major groups in Indo which might desire take power i.e. army, Communists, have no willingness make attempt except with Sukarno backing or at least acquiescence;

(D) Indo internal political struggle thus continues to be primarily one of competition for Sukarno favor;

(E) Even if US were disposed to actively oppose socialism a LA Indo or guided democracy, which is not, US could not hope to achieve its objectives by backing any visible rival to Sukarno;

(F) US policy, which in short range is primarily one of assisting Indo to maintain independence which threatened by communism, can succeed in present context only by cooperation with Sukarno;

(G) This conclusion is based on ~~realities~~ which have nothing to do with such questions as to whether US likes or does not like Sukarno, whether he is or is not undemocratic, foreign capital.

(H) Although US considers Sukarno a great revolutionary leader, it wholeheartedly disagrees with many of his views. This does not mean that US seeks to obstruct the formation of any kind of society Sukarno and his people want. On the contrary US seeks to encourage development of Indo individuality as assurance against Communist domination.

(I) Our encouragement of Indo individuality does not, of course, mean that we welcome statements which seem to attribute to private capital the blame for war, while crediting communism with monopoly of effort for peace, or statements blaming free enterprise for poverty, exploitation of man by man, et cetera.

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Control 17025

Rec'd: JUNE 22, 1960

Action 17025

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Info

FROM: ALUSNA DJAKARTA

SS

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 220617Z JUNE (NAVY MESSAGE)

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ADM MARTIADINATA ASKED ALUSNA TO HIS OFFICE FOR BRIEFING ON GOVT REACTIONS TO US VISIT. HE STATED HIS CONFERENCE WITH PRES NOT PARTICULARLY PLEASANT. PRES LISTENED HALF HEARTED AND INTERRUPTED WITH "BUT DO YOU THINK YOU CAN TRUST THE AMERICANS". MARTA STATED HE FELT HE COULD AND ATTEMPTED TO GIVE PRES HIS REASONS FOR CONFIDENCE. BECAUSE OF THE TENOR OF THE MEETING, MARTA DID NOT GO INTO COMPLETE DETAIL ON THE VISIT. MARTAS MEETING WITH NASUTION VERY SUCCESSFUL. HE RECEIVED GREENLIGHT AND STATED NO BASIC CHANGE IN HIS RELATIONSHIPS WITH NASUTION. MARTA DID NOTE THAT ALTHOUGH NASUTION HAD INDICATED PRIOR TO MARTAS DEPARTURE FOR THE STATES THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST THE PRES IF ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY, HE HAD NOT THOUGHT THE PROBLEM THROUGH AND CAME TO THE FIRM CONVICTION THERE IS NO SOLUTION TO INDO POLITICAL PROBLEMS WITHOUT THE PRES. CONFERENCE WITH DJUANDA AND HIDIJAT CONSIDERED VERY SUCCESSFUL. DELIGHT ON THAT CONFERENCE WAS MARTAS SECURING NECESSARY FOREIGN EXCHANGE TO CONCLUDE FRENCH CONTRACT WARU AIRFIELD. DJUANDA ASKED MARTA WHY NOT APPROACH EQUIP AND TRAINING ALONG LINES AS AURI HAS DONE WITH USSR. MARTA EXPLAINED DIFFERENCES IN MARITIME CONCEPT AND APPARENTLY CONVINCED BOTH DJUANDA AND HIDIJAT SINCE THEY TOLD HIM TO PROCEED WITH HIS PRESENT PROGRAM. MARTA CALLED ON SUBANDRIO FOLLOWING CHARGE, FOR 2 HOUR SESSION (REF EMBTEL 3616 AND 3629). MEETING VERY SUCCESSFUL FROM MARTAS POINT OF VIEW SINCE HE WAS NOT SURE OF SUBANDRIOS SENTIMENTS. SUBANDRIOS DELIGHTED WITH RESULTS AND GAVE STATEMENT TO THE PRES IN

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-2- 220617Z JUNE (NAVY MESSAGE) FROM ALUSNA DJAKARTA.

THIS VEIN. (PRESS STATEMENT IR 52-60) MARTA AND SUBANDRIO DISCUSSED AT LENGTH PRO AND CON OF US POLICY IN INDO. MARTA SPENT SOMETIME EXPLAINING TO ALUSNA INDO POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, THE GIST OF WHICH IS THE INDOS HAVE NOT YET FOUND THEIR IDENTITY, AND THEY ARE NOT READY TO BE "ANTI ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER" SINCE THEY NO NATIONAL BASE. THIS LED TO THE OBSERVATION THE US, WHICH IS MORE MATURE AND HAS GOOD REASON TO TAKE THE STAND IT DOES REGARDING CONTAINMENT OF COMMUNISM, TAKES THE WRONG APPROACH IN INDO. THIS BUILDUP, INTERSPERSED WITH ASSURANCES THAT ALRI POLICY REMAINS THE SAME, AND DESIRE TO PROTECT ATTITUDE OF HONEST AND FRANK EXCHANGE OF IDEAS, LED TO MEAT OF THE PROBLEM. THE PRES BELIEVES THE US IS OUT FOR HIS SCALP, WE NO LONGER HAVE USE FOR HIM AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO SEE HIM REPLACED. THE PRES, WHO HAS ALWAYS HAD LEFTIST LEANINGS IS NOW MOVING IN THE DIRECTION OF THE LEFT. PRES OBJECTS TO CONTINUAL REFERENCES BY THE US TO THE CHAOTIC CONDITIONS WHICH EXIST IN INDO AND CONTINUAL DEMANDS AS TO "WHY DO YOU DO THIS AND THAT". MARTA STATED THE RESULTS OF HIS CONFERENCES INDICATED THE GOVT FEELS THE US MUST TAKE POSITIVE ATTITUDE HERE AND TRY TO HELP INDO BUILD HER IDENTITY. THEY PREFER US TO SOVIET ASSISTANCE BECAUSE OF THEIR WESTERN EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND. HE SUGGESTS WE SHOULD STOP ATTACKING "SOCIALISM ALA INDONESIA" AND "GUIDED DEMOCRACY". MARTA STATED HE WAS MAKING THESE PLEAS THROUGH ALUSNA NOT BECAUSE HE THOUGHT I COULD MAKE ANY CHANGES, BUT HE FEELS HE CAN TALK THESE THINGS OVER WITH ME. HE STATED HE WISHED THERE WERE MORE AMERICANS WHO WOULD TAKE PERSONAL INTEREST IN THEIR PROBLEMS SINCE SO MUCH OF THEIR WORK IS ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH PERSONALITIES. MARTA WISHED TO ASSURE ME THE PROGRAM IN ALRI WILL CONTINUE AS SCHEDULED, HOWEVER HE WOULD HAVE TO PLAY DOWN THE ARRIVAL OF THE MTT AND TREAT IT AS A PURELY TECHNICAL VISIT. THE SOVIET CRUISER QUESTION IS STILL NOT RESOLVED AND MARTA WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO FACE THIS HURDLE PRIOR TO HIS ACCEPTING INVITATION VISIT TO USSR, PERHAPS IN AUG. HE WANTS AND WILL ACCEPT 4 SUBS. MARTA AGAIN REITERATED HIS STAND THERE WILL BE NO SOVIET PENETRATION IN THE NAVY AS LONG AS HE IS CHIEF OF STAFF. SHOULD THE PRES FORCE THIS ISSUE, MARTA DJOS SUDARSO AND OTHERS WILL RESIGN. MARTA IS STILL ENTHUSIASTIC

/ABOUT

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By CP NARA Date 8/4/00

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-3- 220617Z JUNE (NAVY MESSAGE) FROM ALUSNA DJAKARTA.

ABOUT HIS RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE US NAVY. HE IS FINDING SOME PROBLEMS WITHIN HIS GOVT AND HE IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE CURRENT ANTI-US ATTITUDE OF THE PRES WHO HE BELIEVES MUST REMAIN AS THE HEAD OF STATE FOR SOME TIME TO COME. MARTA BELIEVES THE DIFFERENCES IN PHILOSOPHY BETWEEN US AND INDO SHOULD BE SQUARELY FACED AND SOLUTIONS TO INDO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS SOUGHT AS A PRIMARY POLICY RATHER THAN AS THE STEPCHILD TO US POLICY OF COMMUNIST CONTAINMENT.

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# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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JUN 25 PM

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Origin

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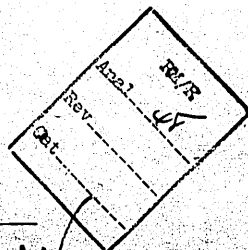
Your 3616, 3629 and 3655

Dept appreciates Charge's full reporting Subandrio conversation concerning Sukarno's suspicions US seeking his removal. Embassy's recommendations re making US statement of concern over Sukarno's views and having off record discussions with New York Times raise issues which we would like discuss with Ambassador Jones who plans be in Washington next week. Dept will at that time furnish additional guidance this matter.

Herter  
(JTB)

HERTER

611.98/6-2360



Drafted by:

FE:SPA:RH:Wendel:js

6-25-60

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

James B. Bell

Clearance:

**SECRET**

Classification

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JUN 25 1960  
STATE DEPT  
GENERAL

611.98/6-2360

DT:ING

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Authority NND 949570  
By GPO NARA Date 8/4/00

## INCOMING TELEGRAM

## Department of State

ACTION COPY

38 L

Action

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Info

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RMR

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

Control: 19450

Action Assigned to

Rec'd: JUNE 25, 1960

Action Taken 10:22 A.M.

FROM: USAIRA DJAKARTA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: C-65, 250401Z (AIR ATTACHE MESSAGE)

PRIORITY

Date of Action 6/27/60

Action Office Symbol SPA

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

SENT CSAF WASHDC, 1127 FAG FT BELVOIR (AFCIN-1E-A), REPEATED INFORMATION CINCPAC, AFMMS WASHDC, AFCIN WASHDC, STATE WASHDC.

REFERENCE AFCIN-1E-AAC DAKWU 73, EMBTEL 36 NBR 1 DTD 25 JUN.

IN LETTER TO AMBASSADOR DTD 24 JUNE 1960, AIR MARSHAL SURYADARMA EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION AND SINCERE THANKS TO AMBASSADOR FOR THE EXCELLENT COOPERATION HE HAD RECEIVED FROM EMBASSY IN WORKING OUT DETAILS FOR MATERIEL AND ATTAINING US LOAN TO AURI, AND ALSO FOR PERSONAL SERVICES RENDERED BY AMBASSADOR IN THIS RESPECT. HE ALSO STATED AS FOLLOWS; "IN THIS CONNECTION WE NOTE THAT LT. COLONEL JOHN C. SUMMERS HAS DEVOTED A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE EXCELLENT COOPERATION WHICH EXISTED IN VIEW OF THE FACT IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO FINISH COMPLETELY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PROJECT, WE HEREWITH WISH TO EXPRESS OUR REGRETS IF IT SHOULD COME TO PASS THAT LT. COL. SUMMERS IS TRANSFERRED FROM HIS POSITION AS AIR FORCE ATTACHE IN DJAKARTA. IT IS LT. COL SUMMERS WHO ABLY BEGAN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PROJECT, AND WE BELIEVE THERE WOULD BE ADVANTAGES IF WE WERE ABLE TO COMPLETE THE PROJECT WORKING TOGETHER WITH LT. COL. SUMMERS. IT SHOULD BE ADDED THAT MRS. SUMMERS HAS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH AIR FORCE WIVES IN INDO".

COMMENT: REALIZE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN APPROVING EMBASSY RECOMMENDATIONS OF 6 MONTHS EXTENSION, HOWEVER, IF THERE IS SLIGHTEST AURI BOTH MY WIFE AND I ARE PREPARED TO ADJUST OUR PLANS RESULTS OF OUR EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MOST DISCOURAGING AT TIMES, AND THIS LETTER MOST TANGIBLE EVIDENCE TO DATE THAT SOME PROGRESS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. AS SUGGESTION, COLONEL DRYSDALE

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Authority NND 949570  
By GPO NARA Date 8/4/00

CONFIDENTIAL

-2- C-65, 250401Z (AIR ATTACHE MESSAGE), FROM USAIRA DJAKARTA  
TAKE LANGUAGE TRAINING IN INTERIM. THIS HAS BEEN LATEST  
HANDICAP. ALL ARMY ATTACHES AND ASSISTANTS GET EXCELLENT LANGUAGE  
BACKGROUND AND I HAVE OBSERVED THAT THIS CAPABILITY ENABLES THEM  
TO ESTABLISH CLOSE FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIPS WITH INDONESIANS  
EARLY IN TOUR. ALSO EXTREMELY HELPFUL IN TRANSLATING CLASSIFIED  
DOCUMENTS. RECOMMEND THAT THE ASSISTANT AIR ATTACHE DESIGNATE  
BE GIVEN MAI TRAINING. FOR PLANNING PURPOSES WHEN WILL HE  
ARRIVE ON STATION AND WHAT IS FAMILY STATUS. SIGNED SUMMERS.

HMR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1960 JUN 27 AM 8 13

BUREAU OF  
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Authority NND 949570  
By GP NARA Date 8/4/00



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Department of State

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53-W

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Action

Classification

Control: 23288 Assigned to RM

FE

Rec'd: June 30, 1966  
1:58 p.m.

Info

FROM: Djakarta

SS

TO: Secretary of State

G

SP

NO: 3734, June 30, 3 p.m.

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PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 3734; CINCPAC 678; REPEATED INFORMATION  
THE HAGUE PRIORITY 172.

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

EMBTTEL 3730

Charge called to Foreign Department noon June 30 for questioning concerning Admiral Burke's purported statement. Present were both Max Maramis Chief American Directorate, and Sumarjo, Deputy Chief. Maramis asked whether Admiral Burke's statement was official or not and what circumstances of its "issuance" had been.

Charge said he was completely in dark as to facts. Would seek obtain them at once from Department. He said he wished make following observations in meanwhile based on his general knowledge:

1. Charge placed no credence in report in form it carried, particularly since Agence France Presse only source for report.
2. Charge had never heard such idea advanced within American Government during many years in which he had specialized Far Eastern affairs, including Indonesian affairs.
3. Charge did not consider Admiral Burke conceivably could have been expressing any official view on behalf US Government even if quoted correctly, which he doubted,

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Correction made by RM/R on 8/24/67

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FILED  
JUN 30 1966

611.98/6-3060

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Authority NND 949570  
By GPO NARA Date 8/4/00

CONFIDENTIAL

-2- 3734, June 30, 3 p.m., from Djakarta

since under US system armed forces not authorized speak on foreign policy matters for United States Government.

Maramis made point of fact that one Indonesian language version of story said the statement had been "issued," seeming to indicate deliberate announcement US intention to obtain Hollandia Base. Charge speculated that more likely this was press conference or interview statement. Maramis then commented even though Indonesians could understand armed forces not authorized make foreign policy pronouncements in US (#) Burke's stature nevertheless caused concern. Concern, of course, was whether this meant change in US policy on West Irian dispute.

Charge said he could appreciate concern but he had no knowledge and intention to change US policy this area. He certainly would have had opportunity be informed since major decision this kind not lightly made by US; required considerable period of consultation among various decision-making agencies. Added he was certain US had not changed its policy but would seek appropriate official assurance this regard immediately in order make this point absolutely clear. Charge said while he disposed dismiss whole matter out of hand as simply distorted press reporting, felt it desirable have official confirmation emanate from Department in view official concern expressed by GOI.

Comment: Urge Department act without delay forward facts to Embassy for transmission GOI, also issue public statement denying any US plan to establish base New Guinea.

HENDERSON

AL/o

(#) Omission. Correction to follow.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1969 JUL 1 AM 7 00

AFRICAN AFFAIRS

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Authority NND 949570  
By GPO NARA Date 8/4/00

58  
Action  
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Info

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

CONTROL: 23288  
CORRECTION ISSUED: 7/8/60, 5 PM

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-2- 3734, June 30, 3 p.m., from Djakarta - CORRECTED PAGE 2

since under US system armed forces not authorized speak on foreign policy matters for United States Government.

Maramis made point of fact that one Indonesian language version of story said the statement had been "issued", seeming to indicate deliberate announcement US intention to obtain Hollandia Base. Charge speculated that more likely this was press conference or interview statement. Maramis then commented even though Indonesians could understand armed forces not authorized make foreign policy pronouncements in US but for such statement to be made by person Admiral Burke's stature nevertheless caused concern. Concern, of course, was whether this meant change in US policy on West Irian dispute.

Charge said he could appreciate concern but he had no knowledge and intention to change US policy this area. He certainly would have had opportunity be informed since major decision this kind not lightly made by US; required considerable period of consultation among various decision-making agencies. Added he was certain US had not changed its policy but would seek appropriate official assurance this regard immediately in order make this point absolutely clear. Charge said while he disposed dismiss whole matter out of hand as simply distorted press reporting, felt it desirable have official confirmation emanate from Department in view official concern expressed by GOI.

Comment: Urge Department act without delay forward facts to Embassy for transmission GOI, also issue public statement denying any US plan to establish base New Guinea.

MLJ/8

Action ~~ANDERSON~~ *RM*

Action Taken *Noted*

Date of Action *7/9/60*

Action Office Symbol *SPA*

Name of Officer *W. J. ...*

Direction to DC/R *FILE*

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Authority *NND 949570*  
By *GP* NARA Date *8/4/00*

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Department of State

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34

Action

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Classification

Control: 91

Rec'd: July 1, 1960  
4:09 a.m.

FE

Info

FROM: Djakarta

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

SS

TO: Secretary of State

G

NO: 3739, June 30, 4 p.m.

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ARMY

NAVY

AIR

SENT DEPARTMENT 3739; REPEATED INFORMATION CLEVER POLAD 69,  
THE HAGUE 173, PARIS 42.

Action Office Symbol

EMBTLS 3730, 3734, repeated

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

Following is text statement given AP reporter by Indonesian  
Foreign Department spokesman Harsono morning June 30, apparently  
about time Charge called to Foreign Department:

"We are somewhat amazed to hear Americans official voice as  
stated by Admiral Burke in Holland concerning West Irian. Up  
till now the US Government has always stated to be neutral in  
Dutch Indonesian dispute.

RMR

"Burkes' statement is not neutral. But on the contrary  
sound provocative towards Indonesia. Because it takes into ac-  
count the setting up of military basis in West Irian which is  
Indonesian territory. An explanation from the US Government  
on Burkes' statement is very urgent".

Text given Embassy Office by TIMES man Kalb. Charge told Kalb  
that Charge had been called to Foreign Department, had told  
Foreign Department he had no official word in alleged Burke  
statement, had never heard of any proposal for base in Hollandia,  
did not believe there any change in US policy on West Irian, and  
that he had asked Washington for clarification.

HENDERSON

FMR/1

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AUG 26 1960

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By NARA Date 8/4/00

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

Origin SENT TO: Amembassy, DJAKARTA PRIORITY 4  
Info: RPTD INFO: Amembassy, THE HAGUE 4  
Amembassy, CANBERRA 3  
CINCPAC FOR POLAD

Your 3734. 61198/6-3060

You authorized assure GOI there is no rpt no change in U.S. policy  
of neutrality on West New Guinea issue.

Herter  
(JPS) HERTER

611.98/6-3060

FM/R
Anal. <i>LF</i>
Rev.
Out.

Drafted by: FE:SPA:RHwens:reg 3-1-60

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE:SPA - James D. Bell

Clearances:  
WE - Mr. Chadbourn (in draft)  
FE - Mr. Steeves (in draft)

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LWS

61198/6-3060

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